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NOTES AND NEW...

WHEN Indians dare to criticise any department of the Government of India, Englishmen usually reply by labelling them "seditious," and claim to dispose of specific complaints by reference to the general virtues of "the most distinguished service in the world." But this sort of evasive answer is somehow not regarded as adequate by English taxpayers when they have complaints to make against a department of government at home. Here, for example, is a passage from the first leading article in the *Times* of Monday last:—

> Our immediate duty is to bring the war in South Africa to a speedy and a successful end. When that has been accomplished, it will be incumbent upon us to review the history of the campaign, to draw from it its true lessons and to see that they are thoroughly and promptly applied. The year that is before us may not suffice for the performance of this second task. Whatever else the war may or may not have proved, it has at least convinced the nation that far-reaching reforms in our military arrangements are very urgently needed. There has long been a suspicion that this was the case, but, in spite of all the efforts made, and nowhere more persistently made than in the columns of the *Times*, to enlighten it, the uneasiness of the public has been lulled by smooth official assurances in and out of Parliament, made, as they were told, on the unimpeachable authority of trusted experts. Apologies, excuses, and explanations of the old kind will no longer pass. Our military system has been tried, and it has been found wanting.

"Smooth official assurances" will not do in England, but it is treasonable to be dissatisfied with them in India. Yet wh...h is the more likely to stand in need of reform—the War Office in London working under the eyes of taxpayers who control Parliament, or Government departments in India manned by bureaucrats responsible to nobody but themselves?

The correspondent of the *Standard* sends from Simla (December 14) a somewhat gloomy account of the prospects of the famine. The official figures—"so far as official figures can guide us"—are rapidly going up, and they would certainly not go up without urgent cause. The Government estimates of the cost must go up too, and the correspondent thinks it not far from the mark to anticipate "that Government will have to disburse some four crores of rupees in the period ending with March 31 next." "As it is, all public works which cannot serve also as famine relief works have had to be stopped for want of funds; and if the next few weeks should bring with them no rain, there can be no doubt whatever that the Budget will disclose a heavy deficit." Very likely. It does seem hard that a well-cooked Budget should be spoiled in this way. It is worse still that the stoppage of public works should involve a vast amount of unforeseen waste. It will be the height of misfortune if the pressure of impecuniosity should lead to an undue contraction of the Government aid demanded by the straits of the people. We observe it stated that official enquiries are being made as to the careful administration of the famine funds, which is quite proper and necessary; we only hope that carefulness will not degenerate, under pressure, into niggardliness. The hoped-for Christmas rains have not come, and the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* (December 29) reports, in anxious terms, the increasing intensity of the famine; "the whole of the Bombay Presidency," he says, "is practically now affected," while "Khandash, Nasik, Nagar, and parts of Gujerat are threatened with a water famine owing to the drying up of the wells." Yet he says nothing of the Central Provinces, which are the

... He complains that the war has drawn off ...tion "both here and in England" from the ... the famine." When stricken India has been ...g to the war, is it not time for England to con... ...e famine?

...dard correspondent's letter should bring home to the p...le of England some part at least of the significance of ...hat is vaguely called the famine. He writes:—

> Should th... winter rain, no sign of which is at present forthcoming, fail, as did ...e monsoon showers [and this, as we have seen, is what has now ha...pened], then the winter crops on unirrigated land will be irretriev...ly lost, and famine of the most acute description will be in the land. Already the people are becoming listless, and giving up all hope.

In certai... parts of the country, however, the attitude is different. Thus:—

> In the ...orthern Punjab, for instance, the people are rapidly becoming ...wless and desperate. Gangs of a dozen or twenty men roam abou... the country, no doubt satisfying the local police with a share of th... plunder, robbing, waylaying, and beating all they come across. Few of these cases ever come to light in the newspapers. Few are brought into court at all. . . . Thus on the mere warning of famine—for there is no "official" famine in the Northern Punjab yet—all the riff-raff of the community are let loose to exploit the law-abiding people, and there is no redress. Is it strange that these simple peasants wonder if there be really a *Sirkar* after all, and, if so, why such things should be allowed in the great Queen's *raj*?

The correspondent bears testimony to the reluctance of the people to go on relief work "until they have nothing whatever themselves," and have even eaten up "the seed corn put by for the next sowings." As to the relief measures, he regrets that "in so many instances they should be of an evanescent and ephemeral character." "What is really wanted in India as a preventive of famines," he says, "is more irrigation." That is one view, and so far it is worth consideration. But it has been left to the Congress to point the true means of prevention (and even of obtaining "more irrigation"), namely, "by moderating the land revenue, curtailing the expenditure, especially for military purposes, and developing Native industries."

An Anglo-Indian correspondent writes: "As regards Famine Relief administration up to date, so far as can be gathered from obviously impartial reports in the Indian Press, everything has been done that could be expected from the experienced and energetic officers charged with that duty. Their efforts have hitherto been supported by the supreme Government, apparently without stint or hesitation. Though the strain must increase, one trusts that it will be met by efforts and expenditure equal to the exigency. Determination to this effect has been expressed most emphatically by all responsible authorities concerned, from the Viceroy to local Commissioners and Collectors. Nevertheless, certain expressions in a Reuter's telegram, dated Calcutta, December 29, seem to require explanation. After stating that the numbers on relief have reached three millions (the figure was 2¼ millions when mentioned in INDIA of December 22) the second and third paragraphs of the telegram seem to indicate symptoms of hesitation which must cause misgiving. This is not less so because of the peculiar blend of plausible statement and minatory suggestion that one knows too well in such demi-official *communiqu*... from the central bureau of Indian administration.

"It were vain for me to quote any phrase from these smoothly flowing passages, because the interpretation thereof in plain language would require a whole column. ... the gravity of this 'feeler' is sufficiently apparent ...hat it avowedly proceeds on one of those potent instru...nts of Indian bureaucratic statecraft, innocently styled ...Resolution of enquiry.' Now, though Parliament is ... sitting and the attention of our leading men is neces...rily absorbed by the cri...i... into which the Empire has

been wantonly plunged, the British pub
'members for India,' have a right to den
text of this ominous Resolution shall be publ
so that we may know where we are in this r
and preventible death. It is obvious to thos
'the ways of them' that it is at variance wit
ably explicit assurance given in the Secretary
letter to the Lord Mayor a fortnight ago, which
'The Government [of India] is pledged to sp
outlay nor effort in the attempt to relieve distre
life in the present famine.'"

The *Friend of India* certainly seems justified i
that there is some foundation for the complaint a
revised land assessments in Cachar. In the fi
although the petitioners protested against the ra
ally put forward, not only did their protest pass
but the rates finally sanctioned were much highe
of proceeding which reduces the earlier publication to a mockery; for the sole object of that is to give the agriculturists an opportunity of challenging the assessment. Secondly, the re-settlement has been made only fifteen years after the preceding one. Thirdly, 50 per cent. seems a great rise in fifteen years, only justifiable if the rates in 1883-1884 were fixed at a very low figure; but this seems unlikely as they varied from 100 to 200 per cent. over those of forty years earlier. Fourthly, the Chief Commissioner of Assam had assured the landholders that the enhancement on cultivated lands should not exceed 37 per cent. To discover whether the rise was actually 50 per cent. would require an investigation of the figures; but even without this there is cause of complaint. Mr. Cotton proposed that the new settlement should be for twenty years; but here again he has been overruled by the Government of India who insist that it shall once more be for 15. All this affords excellent support to Mr. Dutt's Presidential Address at the Lucknow Congress.

The maxim that every man is to be considered innocent until he is proved guilty is a sound rule on which general agreement might have been expected both in England and in India. It obviously implies that all those who have been acquitted should be treated as really not guilty of the crime with which they had been charged. But apparently Judge Douglas of Dacca does not agree with this. Recently an old man named Akbar Munshi, who had been tried and acquitted on a charge of murder, entered the judge's court, and Mr. Douglas ordered him to be turned out and not admitted again. Why was this? The court was a public court. Akbar Munshi, though accused, had been acquitted. Why, then, was he turned away?

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* returns to the question of putting very young magistrates in positions of great responsibility. The case indeed which it now brings forward, on the authority of its Silchar correspondent, is happily one scarcely discrediting the young officer concerned. The Hindus of Silchar recently held a religious procession, having obtained permission from the Vice-Chairman of the Municipality. Mr. Cumming, the District-Superintendent of Police—the Deputy-Commissioner being away—either thinking the procession was lasting too long or disliking the music, sent some of his men to stop it. Eventually, however, finding that the conditions of the permit had not been violated, he very properly took off the ban. Now this case is all the stronger because Mr. Cumming's action was due neither to want of sympathy nor to arrogance, but solely to ignorance or misunderstanding. Our contemporary asks whether it would not be better, in the absence of the District Officer or Deputy Commissioner, to entrust the charge of the station to an experienced Indian Deputy Magistrate rather than to some young and inexperienced Englishman. But perhaps to place an Indian in charge might be dangerous. He might do too well.

An umbrella kept open by an Indian in the august presence of a European seems to have the same effect as a red rag on a bull. The latest case is perhaps the most extraordinary. We give it on the authority of the *Tribune*. An Indian official of the Public Works Department was surveying about four miles from Delhi. While taking some readings in the direction of the afternoon sun, he

hile
Ghazia
assaulted the
The railway
the same time
shut his um-

Justice and a jury,
Extortion Case have
to terms of five and two
isonment respectively. The
ect that "the public should
nst the abuse of police powers
case." The *Hindu* believes that
olice is as rife in the Mofussil as it has
in the capital, and is much more difficult
to this especially it attributes any unpopularity that may attach to the British *Raj*. It calls upon the Governor to hold an enquiry into the state of the police throughout the Province.

The writer on "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* (Jan. 2) tells us that Indian questions "are weighing heavily on the minds of Englishmen of all parties," and that "there never was a time when England was possessed by so anxious a desire to do right by India." The propositions are severely limited by the prevailing ignorance of Indian affairs in England, although glints of light are now gradually piercing the gloom. It may be true that, in some ways and to some extent, "the new generation of Indians has only to qualify itself for serious political guidance in order to find friends and leaders on both sides of the House"; and of course it is the duty of Indians to improve their qualifications in this direction to the utmost of their power. But is there not a duty on the other side? Is it not for those potential "friends and leaders" to instruct themselves as to the facts and bear themselves accordingly? One looks in vain for any adequate effort on this side of the matter, though an increasing number of members are certainly giving more attention to Indian subjects. The *Times* writer says that "eloquent asseverations of loyalty to the British rule do not count for much when accompanied by perpetual abuse of the British rulers—an abuse which now includes Parliament itself, and seems to be rather more bitter against a Liberal Viceroy and Secretary of State like Lord Elgin and Sir Henry Fowler than even against Lord Lansdowne and Lord George Hamilton and other statesmen of the hereditary type." An Indian may, with equal justice—or injustice—remark that the English pride in India and professions for its welfare do not count for much when leading English statesmen and journals alike refuse to deal with Indian questions on the merits, and shower contemptuous and ignorant abuse upon the most respected of Indian spokesmen.

But general recriminations are very unprofitable, as well as disagreeable. The *Times* writer would do well to cite the particular instances he has in mind. This is all the more necessary because the opponents of Indian demands have not yet learned to distinguish between legitimate criticism and "abuse." The treatment of Indian questions in Parliament is surely very far from satisfying the judgment of any fair-minded person even moderately familiar with the facts, and is certainly a fit subject for very sharp comment. But the *Times* writer seems to misapprehend the attitude of the critics that have handled Lord Elgin and Sir Henry Fowler rather more severely than Lord Lansdowne and Lord George Hamilton. They naturally expected a good deal more sympathy and ability from the former pair, and the lack of both qualities has inevitably caused not a little disappointment. How is Lord Elgin to be praised, except for good intentions? How is Sir Henry Fowler to be praised for involving us in the Waziri campaign and for out-Hamiltoning Lord George? The plain fact is that the Indian critics keep in view the progress of the Indian cause—the good of India, as they understand it—and treat the acts of friends and foes alike with frank criticism from that point of view. But there is no such thing as "abuse," except possibly in negligible out-of-the-way journals whose editors have not yet learned the English limits of honour-

able debate. And in any case it is not for thin-skinned gentlemen to step into the front rank of political conflict. On the whole, we are quite satisfied that Indian critics are no more guilty of "abuse" of English institutions and public men than English critics are guilty of "abuse" of Indian institutions and people. It is the Secretary of State who calls his critics liars.

Again, the writer in the *Times*, speaking of the "growing feeling against the competition of Indians in foreign States and in our self-governing colonies," says the antipathy "has been fostered by President Kruger and the Boer element within our own territories so as to confound British Indian subjects with the African races and to render it difficult to employ our Indian army . . . . in the present conflict." But surely this action of Mr. Kruger and the Boers would only fire the zeal of the Indian soldiers of the Queen to avenge the wrongs of their compatriots. The difficulty lies elsewhere: the *Times* must know perfectly well that the English in Natal have been more severely unjust to the British Indians than even the Boers of the Transvaal or the Transvaal Government itself.

The two main points of the *Times* article, however, are worked out in a form that gives them importance. The first exhibits the marked change that has come over the relations of the Native States and the Supreme Government since the time of Lord Mayo. Lord Mayo was able to persuade the Native rulers that we really meant to keep our acquisitive hands off their States and wished them well. Now, Lord Curzon declares them his "colleagues and partners." And "the great force for evil or for good bequeathed by the Company to the Crown in the Feudatory States has been slowly yet surely utilised for good." Very well. Then as to the second "unused force bequeathed by the Company to the Crown," the "great educated class":—

That class is essentially the product of our rule, and it is destined to grow into a mighty instrument either for the consolidation or the disintegration of the Empire. As Lord Mayo recognised the possibilities of the Feudatory States, so Lord Ripon discerned with special clearness the potentialities of the new generation of Indians trained on the methods and instinct with the aspirations of the West.

There were serious difficulties in Lord Ripon's way, but we doubt whether "it cannot be said that the fifteen years since elapsed have brought us nearer to a solution of this problem." The tide ebbs, but it also flows. The reign of repression has been prominent of late; but we do not doubt that it has its uses in consolidating the objects of repression. The spirit of liberty, though repressed, is drawing nourishment from the process, and will yet come forth stronger for the temporary check. That spirit will find or compel "friends and leaders" in a country that lives and thrives by it, and boasts it as the most precious possession. But why cannot the authorities take a leaf from Lord Mayo's book, and save everybody concerned an infinity of trouble?

The New Year list of Honours includes the following appointments:—

C.S.I.:

Richard Gillies Hardy, Esq., I.C.S.

K.C.I.E.:

Edward Spencer Symes, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma.

S. Subramania Aiyar, C.I.E., Dewan Bahadur, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort St. George.

C.I.E.:

John Sturrock, Esq., late I.C.S.

John Stuart Beresford, Esq., Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, P.W.D., Irrigation Branch.

Lieut.-Col. Malcolm John Meade, Indian Staff Corps.

Edward Louis Cappell, Esq., I.C.S.

Lancelot Hare, Esq., I.C.S.

Capt. George Olaf Roos-Keppel, Indian Staff Corps.

George Moss Harriott, Esq., Executive Engineer, P.W.D., Central Provinces.

Alexander Martin Lindsay, Esq.

Maung On Gaing, Hon. Magistrate, Rangoon.

Khan Bahadur Sardar Muhammad Yakub Walad Shaikh Ismail.

Frederick George Brunton Trevor, Esq., Director of Funds, India Office.

Francis Whitmore Smith, Esq., Assistant-Secretary, Military Department, India Office.

Rai Bahadur Kalika Dass Datt, Dewan of the Cooch Behar State.

Our congratulations specially to Sir Subramania Aiyar. The honour in his case may seem a consolation prize for the loss of his reasonable promotion to the Chief Justiceship of Madras, on a stupid point of technical ineligibility, but he has fairly won it as a judge, as a scholar, and as a citizen. We are also glad to see the merits of the Dewan of Cooch Behar honourably recognised, though but modestly: it is a simple method of strengthening the ties between the Native States and the Government. Mr. Lindsay's C.I.E. seems an acknowledgment of his elaborate contribution to the discussion of the currency question. Mr. Cappel is consoled for the friction on his nerves resulting from his awkward management of the plague arrangements in his district. Most of the rest of the names on the list are unknown to the public, but presumably they have served the State somehow to the satisfaction of their superiors. From the Indian point of view the record is peculiarly unexhilarating.

There is an outward sign of grace in the new provisions as to the qualifications of officers henceforth to be selected for employment with the Indian Frontier Militia or levies. All recommendations are to be accompanied with full particulars on three points:—

1. On what part of the frontier has the applicant gained military experience?
2. Has he been employed in any capacity beyond the frontier?
3. Has he familiarity with the language, customs, character, etc., of the tribes with which he desires to serve, and, above all, has he the capacity of getting on with Natives and appreciating their feelings, prejudices, etc.?

We should like to hope that this series of queries points to confirmation of the much needed policy of peace in the North-West. The amazing thing is that the requirement of such qualifications should be in any sense new, for surely they are the first things to be considered the moment a frontier exists. However, it is something to find the authorities apparently learning their lesson, even at the eleventh hour. But will the Army Headquarters really take care that "none but the very best men obtain appointments, even in the most subordinate positions"? Will nobody then "take care of Dowb"?

Both the *Hindu* and the *Friend of India* treat the new rules for the nomination of non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council as part of the general policy of reaction. Hitherto the Municipalities and the District Boards have elected two members each, or four in all, the Calcutta Corporation, University, and Trades Association and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce elected one each—leaving two of the ten non-official members to be nominated by the Government. Now under the new rules the rural municipalities lose one member, the District Boards have one or two at the discretion of the Government, and the Trades Association and the Chamber of Commerce have only one between them. Against this the only concession is that the zemindars will now elect their representative, in such ways as the Government may prescribe. It will thus be seen that the power of the Government will be increased, as they will now nominate three or four instead of two of the ten unofficial members.

We have the highest authority for stating that from the time of Shakespeare to the present day domestic service in England has been steadily going to the dogs—though it appears that each generation has believed that the chief progress in that direction has been made in its own time. It is, therefore, no cause of wonder to us to find the Anglo-Indian Association of Calcutta contrasting the Indian servants of the past with those of the present—very much to the disadvantage of the latter, of whom it is said that "they resent the slightest verbal reproof even when mildly uttered." What the servants think of other methods of reproof not unknown among Anglo-Indians, the Association does not say. The Association is anxious for new legislation providing among other things for the punishment of insolence on the part of servants or violence on the part of masters. It is interesting to note that this discontent with their servants is not found among the Hindus or Moslems; in fact the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is much amused at the domestic difficulties of the Anglo-Indians.

THE FIFTEENTH CONGRESS.

THE Indian National Congress has proved its vitality with such force as to reduce its opponents either to silence or to antiquated vituperation. It has held fifteen annual Sessions, on a representative basis, and the fifteenth Session has demonstrated the strength of the movement quite as markedly as any of the previous gatherings. We learn through Reuter's Agency that "nearly a thousand delegates were present at Lucknow, including over four hundred Mahometans." The mention of the large contingent of Mahometans will somewhat disarrange the arguments, or rather the statements, of those who love to assert that the Mahometans stand apart from the movement. It will also help people at a distance to assess at its proper value the Mahometan demonstration held at Lucknow on the eve of the Congress meeting, and so carefully reported home by the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*. Considering that Lucknow was and is a notable Mahometan centre, one might have fairly anticipated that the touchstone of the meeting would try the real feelings of the Mahometan population, general as well as local. But probably no one would have been sanguine enough to anticipate the attendance of such a large proportion of Mahometan delegates. The fact is an extremely satisfactory symptom. It would seem to indicate that, in spite of the factious demonstrations inspired from Aligarh, and supported from various motives not always skilfully veiled, the general Mahometan community is realising more fully than in former years the true lines of national development. To that end all Indians, whatever their special religious tenets, must pull the political oar together, and not in contrariety. "The Chairman of the Reception Committee," Reuter reported, "said that he had met with great cordiality from the Hindu and Mahometan population of Lucknow." The meaning of all this clearly is that the Congress is not, as the discredited anticipatory meeting of Mahometans professed, a divisive force, but, on the contrary, is welding together the best elements of both communities into a common Indian national power, far greater than either, and far more powerful for the advance of the best interests of both. The visitors on the first day, we observe, were estimated at five thousand.

The career and the intellectual temper of Mr. Romesh Dutt alike ministered to the conspicuous success of his presidency. An ex-Commissioner of a Division, who had served with distinction for a quarter of a century, could eulogise the Indian Civil Service as "the finest administrative body in the world" without raising a trace of suspicion of his sincerity; and the same qualifications necessarily invest his criticisms of the legislative and administrative acts of the Government with an authority that is not to be readily disputed. At the same time his judicial temperament, fortified by a life's administrative experience, enabled him to put forward the frankest strictures with a moderation that even strong opponents have not failed to acknowledge and respect. The unhappy prevalence of famine gave special point to his fundamental contention on behalf of the redemption of the rayat; and if the rayat is ever to be redeemed, it is plainly necessary that representatives capable of voicing his needs shall find places of legitimate scope and usefulness in the Executive Councils. The crying need of the time is a more intimate knowledge of the people on the part of their rulers, and a closer association of men trusted by the people in the actual work of legislation and administration. On both sides it was anticipated from the first that the Congress would perform a useful work in exhibiting to the Government the views and the sentiments of the people. The Congress has steadily done its part. Has the Government, on its side, opened its mind to the influences of "moral suasion?" Judged by its outward bearing, it has not; and to that extent, whatever the extent may be, it has weakened its own powers for its own professed objects. Yet there is no saying how far the teachings of the Congress have been silently laid to heart even at moments when they have been openly disparaged. The negative effects of the movement, though unseen, and too frequently forgotten, are inevitably there, operative at least in restraint. And now that Lord Curzon appears to be holding his own pretty toughly with his backward colleagues in Council, it may be hoped that the people will see more plainly the positive effects of the efforts of their representatives. With cordial co-operation—a co-operation for which the country yearns—there are no limits to be assigned to the development of national prosperity, and to the glory of a beneficent Government. There is no other way. The only choice lies between co-operation and tyranny, and tyranny is surely discredited in England.

The Congress, according to Reuter, "emphatically and enthusiastically" reaffirmed the resolution in favour of the separation of judicial and executive functions. If repetition adds emphasis, that resolution should be tolerably emphatic by this time. It dates from the second Congress, in 1886, and then it declared "the universal conviction" that the reform "has become an urgent necessity." Even among officials it is only an occasional odd man who offers the slightest dissent, and it would scarcely be possible to find such a dissenter anywhere in the ranks of experienced officials. Yet, when a remarkable memorial on the subject, signed by Anglo-Indian judicial authorities of the highest position, was recently presented to Lord George Hamilton, the question was again postponed by the despatch of the document to the Government of India for consideration and report. If the subject had been a fresh one, this course would have been natural and reasonable; but for a question that has been agitated all down the century, and that has received solution on the only point of real hesitation—the difficulty of finance—by the suggestions of Mr. Romesh Dutt, which were heartily approved years ago by Sir Richard Garth, the delay seems somewhat vexatious. "Until I shall have received their reply"—that is, the reply of the Indian Government—said Lord George Hamilton (July 27), "I can say nothing as to the desirability of the proposed change or as to the views of the people of India on the subject." "The views of the people of India": well, the views of the people of India were declared "emphatically and enthusiastically" at Lucknow on December 28, and it is not the fault of the Congress if the Government of India or the Secretary of State continues to grope in the dark for what lies plainly before the eyes of all who have the least desire to see it. The misfortune of official myopia is due to a cause that does not afflict other people—a preposterous clinging to the outworn fetish of "prestige," for the authorities seem to imagine that the Indian Empire would tumble about their ears if they appeared to yield to the views of the Congress. They forget the Indian Councils Act. But the Chupra scandal may have the effect of jogging their elbows.

Very timely, too, was the resolution on the Punjab Land Alienation Bill—a Bill drawn on lines abandoned years back in similar cases, and, as the Congress affirms, "calculated to diminish agricultural credit and further impoverish the rayat." Lord Curzon has been eagerly expectant of public opinion on this Bill, and now the Congress warns him that his Council have got the stick by the wrong end. We shall look with interest to the treatment of this Bill in the Viceregal consultations, and observe what value in the way of "moral suasion" is then placed upon the views so clearly enunciated at Lucknow on behalf of the Native population. Miss Alison Garland, who represented the British Committee of the Congress, gave a fresh impulse to the case for a fair apportionment of the charge for British troops in India—another case that has lain open for many years, to the grave injury of India and to the grave discredit of Great Britain. The Transvaal war has brought into clear relief the astonishing fact that British troops are maintained in excess on the Indian establishment at the expense of India, not for Indian necessities, but for British convenience. This injustice cannot go on much longer. The resolution on the Currency quackery also deserves the serious attention of the authorities. Perhaps the policy has been too recently and too determinedly pursued to allow a hope of reversal for some time to come, though it will undoubtedly have "the result of depreciating the value of the savings of the masses, enhancing rents and indebtedness, and injuriously affecting manufacturers." The Hon. Surendranath Banerjea with forcible eloquence pointed the moral of the perverse Calcutta Municipality Act. He insisted that "no evidence was forthcoming of the failure of the Corporation"—a fundamental element of the case that has not been grasped by the *Daily Chronicle*. It is sufficiently condemnatory of the whole proceeding that "the measure has created great unrest in the country, and the gulf between rulers and

ruled is widening." So deeply was the Congress impressed with this unhappy state of public feeling that it adopted a special resolution "earnestly hoping that every effort would be made to stem the tide of reactionary measures which would add to the existing unrest." *Sero sapiunt Phryges*: let us hope that Lord Curzon will not be found among them. The Congress also advanced wise counsels in regard to the famine, properly directing its resolution to the means of prevention, "by moderating the land revenue assessment, curtailing the expenditure (especially for military purposes), and developing Native industries." The sympathy of the Congress with the brothers Natu was happily acknowledged by a telegram of thanks from those gentlemen on their release from a strangely arbitrary confinement of two years and a half. Altogether the fifteenth Session must be pronounced eminently successful, and it remains for the Government to profit by its discussions. The next meeting will be at Lahore, the scene of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's unique triumph of six years ago.

INDIAN TROOPS AND THE WAR.

SIR HENRY HOWORTH discusses with something less than his usual clearness, in the *Nineteenth Century* for January, the justice and the expediency of employing Indian troops in the war in South Africa. It might perhaps have been thought that the indigent and unrepresented taxpayers of India, in maintaining in time of peace a reserve of British troops convenient for employment abroad, had made a sufficient contribution to the cost of a war designed to make Hebrew millionaires richer and to secure the earlier enfranchisement of English Uitlanders. But this contribution does not satisfy Sir Henry Howorth. We owed it, he thinks, to our brave Indian troops to let them storm the kopjes and entrenchments of the Boers. "They are the very men for the work, and it is the very work they like best." This is the argument from fairness to the Indians, and with much of what Sir Henry Howorth has to say under this head we cordially agree. He is right, for instance, when he says that the men we are fighting in South Africa are "no whit more civilised" than the Indians. He is right when he says that the "chivalrous instincts" of Indians "are no whit less than those of any Europeans." He is right again when he speaks of our Indian troops as "men who have fought with us and for us on many glorious battle-fields," and "men who are burning and thirsting to be employed now, and to prove once more their devotion to their Empress and their loyalty to this country." Unfortunately, however, Sir Henry Howorth very soon turns aside—perhaps unconsciously—from the altruistic contention with which he opens his paper and dwells at greater length upon the argument from our own convenience. He asks whether we are "to denude our islands at home of nearly all the flower of their fighting men." He regrets, for our own sake, that instead of transporting fifteen or sixteen regiments of Sikhs and Guides or Bengal cavalry "we sent out at great cost a certain number of regiments, many of them of heavy cavalry, actually including"—and there seems to be a touch of real indignation here—"parts of the Household Brigade." He appears to think it wanton waste to employ "Guardsmen and Highlanders in plumes to storm kopjes and entrenchments." And his final word, stimulated by news of our reverses, is that we ought to use "any resources when we find it convenient to do so." Does not Sir Henry Howorth perceive that the question whether it would be convenient for us to employ Sikhs and Ghurkas in our frontal attacks is quite different from the question whether these brave Indians are entitled to claim that they should be put in the field against the Boers?

Sir Henry Howorth appears to believe that the reason why Indian troops are not being employed to fight the Boers is that Mr. Balfour gave the wrong answer to a "foolish" question in the House of Commons. Incidentally he makes a slip both as to the author of the question and the nature of the answer. It was not Mr. Channing but Mr. Maclean who on July 28 asked Mr. Balfour whether in the event of war "the Government intended to employ either Indian or black troops in a war against white men in South Africa." Mr. Balfour's reply was: "I have to say that if the unhappy event to which the honourable member refers should occur there is no intention of using any but white troops." Sir Henry Howorth thinks Mr. Balfour ought rather to have said that "the Government were determined, when they deemed it prudent and right, to employ all the resources of the Empire in its defence." The question naturally arises, Why did the Government prefer to give the answer it did? Well, it may be conjectured that it had at least three considerations in mind. In the first place, if Sir Henry Howorth has followed the public discussion both here and in India upon this matter, he must be aware (1) that there are those who regard it as politically inexpedient that Indian troops should be permitted to fight against a white army. For they might defeat it, and if so they might, it is feared, draw an inconvenient inference. We do not dwell upon this suggestion, which indeed seems to us no less grotesque than unworthy. But that the argument is seriously advanced is notorious. Sir Henry Howorth says: "The issue is, are we going to use our Indian troops against white men at all in the future—against white invaders from our North-Western frontier in India for instance?" To that question, we suppose, the answer would be that a Russian invasion of India would produce a case of necessity; and that there is a world of difference between employing Indians in defence of their hearths and homes against an invader and taking them over sea to join in a conflict which is no immediate concern of theirs. Then (2), as Sir Henry Howorth is aware, there is a sort of feeling that white soldiers are entitled to claim that soldiers who are not white shall not be employed against them. The terms of Mr. Balfour's statement show that this consideration was present to the mind of the Cabinet. "There is no intention of using any but white troops." H e we have the colour-line drawn in the clearest possible way by the First Lord of the Treasury. Sir Henry Howorth writes in terms of contempt of the "fastidiousness and reserve" which dictate such discrimination. It should be impossible, he thinks, to men "with whom the equality of the human race is an axiom." That is, of course, self-evident. But since when, we should like to know, has "the equality of the human race" been an axiom with the present Cabinet? Has Sir Henry Howorth ever heard of a prominent statesman who, on a well-known occasion, described Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as a "black man"? President Kruger is not the only ruler in South Africa who so far agrees with Lord Salisbury as to regard Indians as "black." It is, as we have many times had reason to regret, the common practice in South Africa, especially in British colonies, to lump together all men who are not white and to treat them as "coolies" or "Kaffirs." Hence, in the present instance, the usual "fastidiousness and reserve" are no doubt strengthened by prudential calculations. To take Indian troops to South Africa where "Asiatics" are under a common ban might, the Cabinet no doubt reflected, have been a signal for the general employment of "Natives" in the war, and the soil of South Africa would have been saturated with white men's blood.

But there was, we conceive, yet (3) another consideration behind the Government's decision not to use "any but white troops." This is a world of paradox and irony. But after all there are limits, and to have taken Indian troops to Natal to repel invasion would under the circumstances have been a piece of irony too grim, a paradox too startling. For what are the circumstances? Let us refer Sir Henry Howorth to an article by Mr. S. H. Swinny in the current issue of the *Positivist Review*, where he will find this passage :—

> If an example is wanted by which to test the reality of these vaunting professions of "imperial patriotism," could there be a better one than the treatment of Indians in our colonies? The tender heart of Lord Lansdowne, our Secretary of State for War, is much touched by the sufferings of the Indians in the Transvaal. None of the wicked deeds of the Boers has stirred him more than this; though curiously enough, it occupied in our negotiations quite a secondary place compared with the "wrongs" of the other Uitlanders. And there was one very good reason why the Indians' wrongs should not be urged; for the Boers only threatened to make Indian aliens live and trade in an unhealthy and inconvenient place, while our loyal colonists of Natal would scarcely allow their Indian fellow-citizens —or at least their Indian fellow-subjects—to live or trade among them at all. And as Natal has done, so have done New South Wales and Western Australia, other nations of our United Empire. And now we learn that two-thirds of Natal has been saved from invasion by troops from India, long supported and kept in efficiency by the poverty-stricken taxpayers of that country, and evidently not needed for India's protection since they can be removed in the hour of danger.

We must infer from Sir Henry Howorth's article that he is not aware of the monstrous indignities and disabilities imposed upon British Indians in British colonies. He is not aware, for example, that a few weeks ago in the Natal Legislative Council, on a motion for the severe restriction of Indian immigration, one of the "Imperialist" speakers said:—

> To say that they (British Indians) were British subjects was begging the question, as there was a great difference between a Britisher and a British subject. They had not the same laws for black and white, and it would never do for Zulus, Amatongas, Pondos, and Coolies to have the same rights as Europeans.

"Men with whom the equality of the human race is an axiom," says Sir Henry Howorth. He will not find many, we fear, among the white colonists of Natal. And we are not surprised if Lord Salisbury and his colleagues shrank from the ironical enterprise of driving the Boers out of Natal by means of Sikhs and Ghurkas. It is at a time of stress and strain like the present that some of the hollownesses of our "Imperial system" are revealed. By all means let Sir Henry Howorth insist upon the rights of Indians, and of Indian traders as well as Indian soldiers. But he must carry his crusade a little farther back. It will not do to deny civic rights to Indians in time of peace and to contend eloquently for their rights as soldiers when in time of war it becomes convenient for an Imperial stepmother to draw upon the resources of their loyalty and valour.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

"WORDS, WORDS, WORDS."

[From an Indian Correspondent.]

Bombay, December 15.

It may be doubted whether any Governor-General since the days of Canning has made so many speeches on so many topics as Lord Curzon in less than twelve months. The "superior purzon" of the Oxford rhyme has developed in India into a superior statesman, of great versatility and pleasing eloquence. His rounded periods and choice diction, be they on airy nothingness, or on high affairs of State, seem to charm not only his immediate audience but also the greater public of India who intently watch his Viceregal career. So far as his public utterances are concerned, Lord Curzon has in no way disappointed India. They have been well studied, cautious and attractive. In this respect his lordship is an artist who is certain to improve as years pass on and to become a popular favourite, unless in the closing days of his Viceroyalty he belies the promise of his earliest performances. There is the old tag about beginning in a flash and ending in smoke. Let us hope that Lord Curzon may have a happier fortune.

He has now toured through half India, or nearly that. From Simla to Poona and Ellora, back to Nagpur and Jabulpur, thence to Jhansi and Gwalior, and last to Agra and Lucknow. This is, indeed, an achievement of physical energy creditable to his early manhood. His journeys keep pace with his eloquence, oral or written. But the time has not yet come to judge of his deeds. So far we have not to record anything very striking. There has been no serious departure in high State polity, no far-reaching change for the welfare of the masses, no special achievements to mark a broad and liberalising statesmanship, nothing to substitute contentment and satisfaction for the prevailing unrest and the unpleasant suspicion of distrust in all matters affecting popular liberty. Nor have we yet witnessed any remarkable or comprehensive scheme of domestic reform which might go to ameliorate the dismal condition of the peasantry who are the backbone of the State system of revenue. No! There has been no certain indication of any of these reforms. Words, polished words, deliberately chosen words—these have been the chief characteristics of Lord Curzon during his cold-weather tour this season. Moreover, stripped of their exuberant and luxuriant verbiage, his speeches prove on examination to be little more than common-places and platitudes—platitudes for Native princes and chiefs with which previous Viceroys of less literary attainment have made us familiar these many years; and common-places about municipalities and the duties of citizens for the people at large. All this is pardonable. But it is not government of the millions. Government is in the hands of the permanent bureaucracy, the real masters of the situation and of India, including the head of the State. One wonders whether these officials did not laugh in their sleeves at Lord Curzon's latest essay (on the art of government of subject races) contained in the admirable speech delivered in open durbar at Lucknow. That historical city is undoubtedly one to fill the imagination of a young and travelled Viceroy. Mighty emperors have ruled from that stately city, once the capital of the Empire. It is a place congenial to magniloquent pronouncements upon the duty of a representative of the mightiest and most gracious Sovereign towards patient and law-abiding subjects.

Receiving the talukdars (successors of the feudal barons of a bygone generation) in all the pomp and pageantry of State durbar, Lord Curzon set forth, in words likely to be remembered with pleasure long after he has laid down office, the duty of a Viceroy in meeting the people. He spoke of the opportunity afforded him of meeting the leading men of the community and of learning their inmost thoughts:—

> Open speech and clear understanding between the Queen's representative and her trusted lieges are essential to the solidarity of administration which is built upon the co-operation of both. While I am honoured by holding my present office, I shall welcome instead of shrinking from any occasion for such an interchange of confidence and renewal of understanding. Indeed, to me it seems that the times have passed by when rulers or the deputies of rulers can anywhere live with impunity amid the clouds of Olympus. They must descend from the hilltops, and visit the haunts of men. They must speak to their fellows in their own tongue, and must be one in purpose and in heart with the people. Only so will they justify their high station, only so will their authority be free from challenge because it will be founded upon trust.

It may be said with truth that this Lucknow speech is the ablest that his lordship has delivered since he set his foot on the shores of India as Viceroy. It breathes high statesmanship. For what is statesmanship or the foundation of it? Is it not a true knowledge of the feelings and sentiments, the wants and wishes of the people? It does credit to Lord Curzon that he has made this pronouncement. But what we have to consider is this: Is it likely that this precept will influence the bureaucracy of the land? Will they seriously take it to heart Will they honestly endeavour to come into closer and more sympathetic trust with the people? Will they give up their disastrous policy of distrust? Will they show by their conduct that the Indian people are held to deserve the highest confidence of their rulers? Will they dismiss from their minds chimerical notions about sedition, and Brahminical conspiracy, and the rest of the political hobgoblins which heated imagination have conjured up for years past? And are we not entitled to ask Lord Curzon himself whether he will boldly take the first step towards restoring the public confidence and allaying unrest throughout the Empire? Will he abolish the odious sedition law of two years ago? Will he move the Secretary of State to repeal the obsolete and dangerous Regulation of 1819 and 1827? Will he see that the Russian system of espionage, so galling and degrading to a loyal people, is abolished? If there is to be a genuine policy of trust in the people these mischievous enactments and regulations and methods should no longer be allowed to remain.

Excellent preparations are being made for the coming Congress. The Reception Committee is doing admirable work to secure the comfort and convenience of delegates, especially from the parts afflicted by plague or famine. The Committee has had many interviews with the sanitary authorities who have been quite reasonable. Almost all precautionary measures of an unreasonable character have been removed, so that we now look forward to a successful Congress.

Miss Alison Garland, the delegate of the British Committee to the Congress, arrived here by the last mail and was warmly welcomed in the rooms of the Bombay Presidency Association, where its most influential members had gathered to hear her. Miss Garland's address was as eloquent as it was interesting. She gave us all proof of her ability as an *ex tempore* speaker. I have no doubt that on the Congress platform she will be received with enthusiasm. Meanwhile she has been most unostentatiously visiting many of our social and educational institutions, of which she will be able to give a first-hand account when she returns to England. The British Committee of the Congress is to be congratulated on securing so sympathetic and able a delegate for the Congress at Lucknow.

People are already talking of a public meeting to raise a permanent memorial in honour of our departing Governor. There are no two opinions as to the personal traits of Lord Sandhurst's character. He has all through been sympathetic and well-meaning. But, so far as the administration is con-

cerned, truth compels me to say that he has been a most feeble Governor—as feeble as Lord Elgin in the Viceroyalty. Moreover the untoward events of the past three years have greatly embittered popular feeling, which is now slowly finding vent. The mere fact that some busy-bodies are endeavouring to honour Lord Sandhurst with a public meeting has aroused popular resentment. It is to be feared that Lord Sandhurst may hereafter pray to be saved from his friends. Lord Harris knows to his cost what the excessive zeal of some of his friends and admirers wrought. It is to be hoped that the friends and admirers of Lord Sandhurst will not place him in a like predicament on the eve of his laying down his office. We shall all remember him personally but we cannot remember him as an administrator who wrought lasting good to the people of Bombay.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

FIFTEENTH SESSION.

ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING AT LUCKNOW.

A THOUSAND DELEGATES PRESENT.

MR. ROMESH DUTT'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

[Reuter's Telegrams.]

Lucknow, December 27.

The fifteenth Indian National Congress was opened here to-day. Nearly 1,000 delegates were present, including over 400 Mahometans. There were 5,000 visitors.

The chairman of the Reception Committee said that he had met with great cordiality from the Hindu and Mahometan population of Lucknow.

Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt was elected president of the Congress by acclamation. In his opening speech he said he cordially recognised the excellent work done by the Indian Civil Service, calling it the finest administrative body in the world. He thought the Congress helped the Government by representing the views and sentiments of the people.

He considered that the sedition laws were utterly uncalled for, and that the Calcutta Municipal Act was retrograde and unlikely to improve municipal government.

Reviewing the land and revenue systems in the different provinces he recommended more moderate assessments in Madras, the Central Provinces, Bombay, and elsewhere, as the best safeguard against the recurring devastating famines. The rayats were the real backbone of the country, and the improvement of the rayats' condition was, therefore, essential if famines were to be non-existent.

He thought the administration should be made more popular, and brought in closer touch with the people. He recommended the appointment of Indian members of the Executive Councils, the co-operation of peoples of all grades being absolutely essential.

In conclusion, the President expressed a hope for continued progress under British rule.

The Congress then adjourned till to-morrow.—*Reuter*.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE DUTIES.

THE PUNJAB LAND ALIENATION BILL.

PAYMENT OF BRITISH TROOPS IN INDIA.

THE CURRENCY MEASURES.

Lucknow, December 29.

At its meeting, yesterday, the National Congress emphatically and enthusiastically re-affirmed the resolution in favour of the separation of judicial and executive functions.

The Congress protested against the Punjab Land Alienation Bill, on the ground that it was calculated to diminish agricultural credit and further impoverish the rayats.

Miss Alison Garland, a delegate of the British Committee, who received a cordial welcome, delivered an address, in which she emphasised the expediency of the British exchequer bearing a portion of the expenditure on the European troops in India, who formed a reserve for Imperial purposes.

The Congress repeated its dissatisfaction with the currency measures of the Government, which, it was declared, would have the result of depreciating the value of the savings of the masses, enhancing rents and indebtedness, and injuriously affecting manufacturers.—*Reuter*.

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL ACT.

"THE TIDE OF REACTIONARY MEASURES."

HOW TO PREVENT FAMINE.

CONFIDENCE IN SIR W. WEDDERBURN AND MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

TELEGRAM FROM THE NATUS.

THE NEXT CONGRESS.

Lucknow, December 31.

The Indian National Congress brought its labours to a conclusion yesterday. The Hon. Surendra Nath Banerjea, in a closely argued speech, severely criticised the Calcutta Municipal Act. He dissociated the Viceroy from what he described as the reactionary policy pervading the measure, which, he observed, instead of being an advance or development on the local government indigenous to the soil from ancient times, was the extinction of that government in that it cut the preponderance of the Hindus, who formed the bulk of the ratepayers. He contended that those paying the largest taxes were entitled to the largest representation. Calcutta had vastly improved under the twenty-five years of local management, and there was ample official testimony to prove it. No evi[illegible] forthcoming of the failure of the Corporation. [illegible] Henry Fowler had properly remarked, the demand [illegible] Corporation for a public enquiry had been refused. The measure had created great unrest in the country, and the gulf between rulers and ruled was widening.

The Congress afterwards adopted a resolution earnestly hoping that every effort would be made to stem the tide of reactionary measures, which would add to the existing unrest.

The next resolution recommended the prevention of famines by moderating the land revenue assessments, curtailing the expenditure, especially for military purposes, and developing Native industries.

The Congress also passed resolutions expressing undiminished confidence in Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

The Congress will meet next year at Lahore.

The brothers Natu sent a telegram to the Congress thanking the members for the sympathy shown to them in their misfortune.—*Reuter*.

THE CONGRESS AT LUCKNOW.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

The "Manchester Guardian."

It is time that the Indian famine question was examined seriously by Parliament, with a view to discovering whether our present system of administration, and more especially of taxation, in India does not cause famine to be more severely felt than it might be under a system more perfect. Of course the Indian Government cannot bring rain in a dry season, or even construct irrigation works over all the districts that are likely to suffer drought. No one expects it to perform impossibilities. But what well-informed and not unfriendly critics like Mr. R. C. Dutt, whose presidential address to the Indian National Congress we give elsewhere, do suggest is that the average peasant is too heavily taxed, and that if his burdens were lightened he would be better able to withstand the effects of one bad season, and thus famine would no longer be as terrible a scourge as it is. There is a general agreement as to the poverty of many of the Indian

peasantry. Like the Russian peasants, their all is staked on a rainfall; a single dry season ruins them and makes whole districts a prey to famine and disease. They enjoy peace and justice under British rule; but millions of them are no better off materially than they were under the Moguls, and may perhaps be worse off, as the purchasing power of the rupee has declined out of proportion to the rise in wages. Yet Mr. Dutt, repeating what has been said by many others competent to speak on the subject, tells us that these wretched peasants are grievously taxed under a system of assessment which prevents them, even in good seasons, from providing for the bad seasons that are inevitable, and that this evil is aggravated by insecurity of tenure. The Indian Government, we fear, is not very likely to take any notice of suggestions coming from the Indian National Congress. But it would be well for the Empire if the Home Government would take up this question. If our Indian administration is impoverishing the peasantry, who are and must always be the foundation of Indian society, then something must be seriously wrong with that administration. (December 29.)

The "Morning Post."

The fifteenth Indian National Congress has met in the famous city of Lucknow, and the self-complacent Native gentlemen whose voices are taken by Sir William Wedderburn and "Padgett, M.P.," as speaking for the peoples of India, are in process of uttering opinions on Indian administration in the fullest and most mellifluous fashion. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, the President of the Congress, was profusely complimentary to the Indian Civil Service. He "recognised" its excellent work, and he declared it to be "the finest administrative body in the world." That may be regarded as high praise from one who, as a National Congressman, ought to believe that the Civil Service should be altogether in the hands of himself and his brethren. Still, his flattery of the Civil Service was counterbalanced by an attack on the administration, which, after all, is the Civil Service. It was to be expected that he would not approve of the Sedition Laws, under which the sedition mongers, conspirators, and assassins of Poona and Bombay have suffered, but his denunciation of the Calcutta Municipal Act proves him to be an unpractical and impracticable person entirely after the heart of "Padgett, M.P." It is the function of a municipality to act rather than to talk: the Calcutta Municipality—or Municipalities, for more than one body was concerned—did nothing but talk; and though it may have talked as eloquently as Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt himself, all the talk did not clean the streets nor keep the Native quarters in a sanitary condition. We count Mr. Chunder Dutt's views of the Calcutta Municipal Act a test of his capacity as a public person: if he cannot recognise that a reform—and a drastic one—was needed, he does not understand what good administration means. His opinions on other matters are as futile as we might expect. He considered that famines would be less devastating if the rayats were less heavily assessed in taxes. Just so. We would all have a little more to spend if we paid no taxes; but then how would the government be carried on? Thus Mr. Chunder Dutt's futilities serve one good purpose: they show [illegible]ble he and his like are of grasping the first principles of [illegible]ation, and their talk does no harm, as long as it does not [illegible]o sedition. (December 29.)

The "Morning Leader."

The Indian National Congress, which has just completed at Lucknow its fifteenth Session, is evidently as vigorous and representative as ever, in spite of the gloomy forebodings of its detractors. Reuter tells us that nearly a thousand delegates attended, and that more than four hundred of them were Mahometans. That is a significant fact for the tenth-rate politicians who would like to see India governed on the plan of "divide and rule." The popular interest which the Session of the Congress excites is well indicated by the presence of five thousand visitors. This important gathering receives every year a good deal of clumsy abuse from Jingo writers who appear to believe that British rule can be made easier and better in India by the suppression of the educated opinion of the country. That excellent Tory, Sir Richard Garth, who used to be Chief Justice of Bengal, and who is now a member of the Privy Council, takes a different view. He describes the Indian National Congress as "a large, influential, and important assembly of earnest and patriotic gentlemen," and says that "it affords an open, honest, and loyal means of making the views and wishes of the most intelligent section of the Indian people known to the Government." The President of the Lucknow Congress is Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, in which he rose to the rank of Commissioner of a Division. Mr. Dutt's presidential address and the many resolutions unanimously adopted by the Congress contain a great volume of wise counsel which prudent rulers, especially if they are aliens, will not fail to ponder. At present India is suffering acutely from the fever of reaction which has infected British statesmen at home and abroad. It is a period of repressive legislation (witness the new law of sedition), of coercive administration (witness the long imprisonment of the Sirdars Natu without trial), of improvident finance (witness the military expenditure and the currency quackery), and of municipal reaction (witness the Calcutta Act and the Bombay Mofussil Bill). In short no matter what branch of government one examines, one finds everywhere strange distrust of the Indians and disregard of their wishes. Those may call this an "Imperialist" policy who please. The fact remains that it is a policy which is more likely to unmake than to establish an empire. If the plague in India has not taught the need of official co-operation with the people, and if the famine has not proved the excessive burdensomeness of land revenue assessments and the excessive costliness of existing policy and methods, the authorities are hardly likely to learn the lesson from the reports of the Congress. But it may be hoped that the loyal requests of educated India will not fall upon deaf ears in this country, and after all it is upon the electors—the political sovereign—of the United Kingdom that the responsibility for the government of India rests. (January 1.)

The "St. James's Gazette."

The Indian National Congress claims for itself a character which it does not possess, when it states that it represents the views and sentiments of the Indian people. So far from that is it that it represents only an exceedingly small "educated" minority who are entirely out of touch with the needs of the great mass of the population. It is entirely supported by the babu, the clerk, instead of by the rayat, whom the Congress itself acknowledges to be the real backbone of the country. It is as though a small body of sweated German clerks in the City should claim to represent the artisans and agricultural labourers of England. This particular year Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt makes an insidious attempt to use the rayat as a lever for the purposes of the Congress, by claiming that the famines, of which one is at present in progress, are due to the over-assessment of the cultivator. It may or may not be true that the rayat is over-assessed. It is certain, at any rate, that he merits consideration more than any other class, and that every effort should be made to lighten his burdens. But the recurrent famines are simply and solely due to the extraordinary fertility of the Indian people. The population of India increased by thirty-four millions during the last recorded decade; that is by over ten per cent. At the same rate of progress the population would double in a century. (December 29.)

The "Daily News."

India is not exactly the centre of the world's interest just now, and the opening of the fifteenth National Congress at Lucknow on Wednesday was not specially remarkable. But this Congress, though its direct results are small, is a curious and interesting symptom of modern India. We have been told, till we are slightly tired of the remark, that there is no community among the races of India, with their diverse religions, customs, and ideas. The Congress exists to show that at least educated Mahometans will combine with educated Hindus for the promotion of the same social and political objects. Of the thousand delegates now assembled at Lucknow, once the scene of the most desperate fighting in which British troops have ever been engaged, more than four hundred, or nearly half, are Mahometans, and the Chairman of the Reception Committee said that he had met with equal cordiality from both Mahometans and Hindus. The President of the Congress, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, whose name is well known in this country, spoke of the Indian Civil Service in terms of eulogy which Sir Richard Temple could not surpass. He called it the finest administrative body in the world, and so it is. There is, indeed, little if anything in Mr. Chunder Dutt's remarks from which English Liberals would dissent. He attacked the Sedition Laws, as we have attacked them. They were passed in a panic, and they are inconsistent with the principles of British rule. The best thing Lord Curzon could do would be quietly to repeal them. The Calcutta Municipal Act is not quite such a simple matter. The difficulty is to reconcile sanitary efficiency with popular government in the great towns of India, and these are not times when it is safe to disregard the science of health. That the general administration of India should be made less official is a policy in which successive Viceroys have concurred, while Mr. Dutt's advocacy of moderate assessments in Madras, the Central Provinces, and Bombay, receives weight from the constant recurrence of famine. A less revolutionary speech has seldom been made. (December 29.)

The "Daily Graphic."

The meetings of the so-called National Indian Congress no longer excite the same interest, even in India, as when they were first instituted. Anglo-Indian alarmists have grown accustomed to the spectacle of a number of English-speaking and English-trained Native gentlemen gathering together and professing to speak in the name of all the millions of pure Asiatics who make up the Indian Empire. The mere use of the word "national" is in itself an absurdity. In no sense can the word "nation" be applied to a population consisting of hundreds of totally distinct races speaking different languages, professing different religions, and refusing to intermarry with one another; but when this absurdity has been dismissed, and with it much of the tall talk of the National Indian Congress, there still remains a residium of utility in the meetings of that body. It represents a small but by far the most intelligent and progressive section of the Native population, and it is a distinct advantage that the grievances and aspirations of this section should be publicly stated. The British Empire has never yet suffered by open discussion, and though some of the proposals of the Congress are impracticable others are entirely reasonable, and by the admission of many of the highest officials would be beneficial if carried out. In any case it would be absurd for Englishmen to complain because people who are the direct product of our rule publicly demand reforms which our example has taught them to value. (December 30.)

The "Morning Herald."

The following signed article by Professor A. F. Murison, LL.D., appeared in the *Morning Herald* of December 28:—During this week, the fifteenth annual meeting of the Indian National Congress will be held at Lucknow, the capital city of the Province of Oudh. The occasion cannot but recall memories of the Mutiny full forty years ago, and perhaps it will induce serviceable reflections on the contrast between then and now. It is to be remembered, however, that the Mutiny was essentially and substantially a military outbreak, not a national or general insurrection, and that even the Native soldiery did not by any means all go over to the malcontents, while the Native civil population stood staunchly by the British in the trying emergency. It may be very safely affirmed that there are no more loyal and devoted subjects of the Queen-Empress than the men that will represent India at the Congress meeting at Lucknow.

In some quarters even yet there may be persons, equally reckless and ill-informed, if not frankly malevolent, who will again repeat the discredited slanders that have attributed disloyalty to the Congress. But no honourable person, with ample sources of information available, will now commit himself to any such false and thoughtless allegation. It is now apparent enough that free criticism of acts of government and administration is a wholly different thing from dis-

loyalty, or even dislike, in India as well as in England. The Congress has always discerned the distinction, and has resolutely exercised the right to speak its mind. "The principle on which the Indian National Congress is based," Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, its first (and eighth) President, has well said, "is that British rule should be permanent and abiding in India, and that, giving this axiom, it is the duty of educated Indians to endeavour to the best of their power to help their rulers so to govern the country as to improve her material prosperity and make the people of all classes and communities happy and prosperous and contented as subjects of the British Empire." The proceedings of the Congress are published, and lie open to all whom it may concern to know them, and those that do know them know that Mr. Bonnerjee's description is perfectly consonant with the facts.

For the better part of a century before it originated, the Congress was really inevitable. It is the necessary outcome of the resolution of the British rulers of India to spread education among the people. "The history of India," said Sir William Wilson Hunter, in 1889, "has yet to be written, and when it is truly written Englishmen will learn that the present movement is the inevitable result of causes which we ourselves have set in motion." Curiously enough, though the first definite idea of such an association originated with Mr. Allan O. Hume, C.B., an ex-civilian that distinguished himself in the Mutiny as well as in his official sphere, yet it is to the suggestion of an ex-Viceroy, the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, that the Congress owes its actual and present form. "He said," according to Mr. Bonnerjee, "there was no body of persons in this country (India) who performed the functions which her Majesty's Opposition did in England. The newspapers, even if they really represented the views of the people, were not reliable, and as the English were necessarily ignorant of what was thought of them and their policy in Native circles, it would be very desirable in the interests as well of the rulers as of the ruled that Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective, and how it could be improved." The wisdom of this view has been abundantly proved in the past fourteen years, and it would have been well for the Government, and better for the country, if the authorities had lent a more careful ear to the representations of the Congress.

The delegates to the Congress are chosen by election. In every district or sub-district throughout India there is a Congress Committee, consisting of gentlemen that have been previously elected to attend the Congress, and have in fact attended it. When the year is drawing to a close, the committee calls a public meeting by advertisement throughout its district for the express purpose of electing local delegates to the next Congress meeting. The election is carried out in the usual way by open vote, and not without pointed discussion of the eligibility of the names proposed. There are also a few considerable associations of a political character throughout the country, which send up representatives in a certain proportion to their numbers. The British Committee in London also sends a representative. The character of the assembly may be conveniently gathered from the famous reply of Sir Richard Garth, ex-Chief Justice of Bengal, to General Sir George Chesney's "obloquy and insults." "We are told," wrote Sir Richard in 1895, "that at the Congress meeting at Allahabad in the year 1888, fully three millions of men took a direct part in the election of those delegates, who themselves numbered no fewer than 1,248. The constitution of this important body was thoroughly representative; it consisted of Princes, Rajas, Nawabs, 54 members of noble families, members of Council, honorary magistrates, chairmen and commissioners of municipalities, Fellows of Universities, members of Local Boards, and professional men, such as engineers, merchants, bankers, journalists, landed proprietors, shopkeepers, clergymen, priests, Professors of Colleges, zemindars, and others. I should also say that they were thoroughly representative as regards religion, as well as their rank and profession." The meeting of 1888 is sufficiently representative, though the members have sometimes fallen below a thousand, and the Government has now prohibited the attendance of all sorts of official persons. If the movement has not yet penetrated below the surface of the masses, it has still made good way. It reaches all the educated Indians, and it is these that necessarily lead the country. The President of the year is Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., ex-officiating Commissioner of Orissa, recently retired.

Mr. Dutt will, no doubt, be able to offer practical suggestions on everything that touches the prosperity of the people, and especially on the working of the Revenue system, and on the value of Native co-operation in government and administration. The recent progress of repression will provide him with plenty of texts, which he can illustrate from his own official experience. Lord Curzon has been recommending plague officers to exercise "moral suasion." Will he and his Council in turn submit to the influences of "moral suasion" proceeding from the Congress at Lucknow? Much as the Government officials need to know what the Natives are thinking and saying, one cannot but doubt whether they have profited much by the declarations and resolutions of previous Congresses—though that is not the fault of the Congress. At the same time they may have profited more than they permit to appear, for they fancy the end of the world would come if "prestige"—that is, their own infallibility—were not outwardly maintained. In any case the Congress proceeds steadily in the discharge of its duty of signifying what educated India thinks and wishes, leaving the results to natural operation, and trusting that its voice may one day reach the ear of the people at home. These would do well to ponder earnestly the significance of the situation as set forth plainly by Sir William Hunter ten years ago: "Those who misrepresent us speak of our movement as isolated, dangerous, or unimportant. But I believe this political movement in India is an indestructible part of that great awakening in India, which is showing itself not only in the intellectual progress of the Indian people, but in India's commercial development, and in many signs of a new national life. We have got a great force to deal with—a force which must be powerful either for the disintegration of our Indian Empire or for the consolidation of our Indian Empire; and, therefore, as an old official, I say it is our duty to use it as a consolidating and not as a disintegrating force."

THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE."

That harmless product of Western ideas transplanted to the East, the so-called Indian National Congress, has brought its annual talking to a close. A vote of undiminished confidence in Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Naoroji gave an appropriate finish to the proceedings. Time was when Anglo-Indians of the old school regarded this flock of magpies as a grave public danger, while the sentimental Radical at home hailed it as the means of preparing the Indian Empire for the blessings of representative institutions. It has found its proper level; namely, that of a debating society mainly composed of educated Babus, who are as different in thought and habits from the peasantry whose wrongs they pretend to "voice" as chalk from cheese. But it is virtually inocuous, more especially in times like the present, when the Natives are vying with each other in proofs of loyalty. (January 1.)

THE "ECHO."

Nearly a thousand Indian delegates meet in conference at Lucknow this week. The numbers are almost equally divided between Mussulmans and Hindus. Educated men of both, or all, religions in our great dependency are united in their efforts for the advancement of their race. This is the fifteenth Indian National Congress. Although it makes comparatively little sound in the world, the gathering is of great and ever-increasing import, as the five thousand visitors are sufficient of themselves to show. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, the President, is a retired Indian Civil Servant of distinction. At the opening of the Congress on Wednesday he delivered a long, careful and very admirable address, which, we regret to say, the majority of English people are to be kept in ignorance of. Readers of the London papers have been furnished only with a telegraphic message of the most meagre description, and we are indebted to the *Manchester Guardian* for the only adequate reports so far obtainable. The President's speech was a review of the whole social and political field. Mr. Dutt recognised the excellence of the administrative work done by the Indian Civil Service. He contended, however, that the Service represented only the official side of Indian questions, and claimed that the Indian National Congress is doing a service to the Government the value of which can scarcely be over-estimated. He expressed his confident belief that India is destined to move onwards as a portion of the British Empire, and that the future will bring some measure of progress and self-government under the Imperial rule of England. Turning to the Sedition Law, Mr. Chunder Dutt spoke with a warmth which few people on this side will consider excessive.

> I often ask myself if there is a single Englishman in this country, with an intimate knowledge of the country and its people, who honestly thinks that the reactionary measure was needed, or that it is answering any useful purpose, or that it has strengthened the Government and increased its reputation and credit in the eyes of Europe. Gentlemen, the measure was based on a blunder—the blunder of connecting sedition with the spread of education. The truth is precisely the reverse of this. English education has not only not produced sedition in this land, but it has been the strongest weapon by which the Government has stamped out real sedition in this country within the last fifty years.

Is it necessary to emphasize the truth of these sentences? We think not. They contain in brief the principle upon which English liberty is based. The law that runs counter to that principle—whether in South Africa, India, Ireland, or London—is contrary to the genius and traditions of British rule. The President continued:—

> If real sedition still lingers in any corner of India, it is in the darkness of ignorance, not in the sunlight of education and free discussion. If I were disposed to foment sedition in India I would desire in the first place to suppress all free discussion, suppress all newspapers, and suppress all public meetings, as a burglar puts out the lights of a room before he commits a burglary. And I make bold to add, gentlemen, that if you had been inspired by hostile feelings against British rule in India, you would have worked in the dark, and not come forward from all parts of India, year after year, to openly and loyally place your views before the ruling power.

That is the absolutely right note. Mr. Dutt went on to plead for Native representation on the Executive Councils, before whom only one view is properly represented, and not the other. Turning to the question of famines, the President insisted that the root of the evil is not excessive growth of population: the Indian people increase less rapidly than the people of England or Germany.

> The real cause of the poverty of our agricultural population is simple, and even obvious, if we had the courage and the honesty to seek for it and to grasp it. It is not over-population. . . . . It is not the natural improvidence of the cultivator, for those who know the Indian cultivator will tell you that with all his ignorance and superstition he is as provident, as frugal, as shrewd in matters of his own interest as the cultivator in any part of the globe. The real cause of his wretchedness and indebtedness is that, except in Bengal and a few other tracts, the land assessment is so heavy that the cultivator is not able to save in good years enough to meet the failure of harvests in bad years.

The President dealt also, in a pertinent and convincing passage, with the question of debt and military expenditure, and with other matters equally important. Considerations of space prevent our commenting on this part of a very valuable speech, which we hope will be read and pondered by every friend of India. (December 30.)

THE "SATURDAY REVIEW."

The so-called Indian National Congress has not received an unmixed welcome at Lucknow. The inhabitants of that great Mahometan centre have held a public meeting and expressed their views of the movement in the uncompromising language of a Mahratta editor criticising the British Government. The "Congress-wallahs" are told bluntly that they had better tackle their own

social evils before they undertake the instruction of their rulers. "The internal reform of the social fabric and the moral and material improvement of the communities of the Indian Empire" are suggested as more suitable objects for their deliberations than stirring up discontent and unrest and propagating democratic theories wholly unsuited to the country. Unfortunately, the last thing the members of the Congress are likely to attempt is the reform of themselves or their fellows. And this conviction has prompted Lucknow to repudiate the sentiments and the right to represent the United Provinces of an association which has this year selected it for a place of meeting. (December 30.)

The "New Age."

Before our next number is due, the fifteenth meeting of the Indian National Congress will have been held in Lucknow, the capital city of the province of Oudh. The charge of disloyalty, at one time freely flung at the Congress, has been so completely belied that only the most densely ignorant and most unscrupulously virulent of its opponents any longer venture to express their dislike in that form of vituperation. The leaders of the Congress movement know better; the whole of their material interests, as well as their political knowledge, to say nothing of the interests of their country, preserve them, one and all, from any such incredible folly. It is really, indeed, only the more intensely official of the official class that fail to distinguish between open and vigorous criticism on the one hand and sedition on the other; and it is only the unthinking supporters of the British Government, in whatever circumstances, that echo at home the strangely foolish and false accusation. As has been publicly stated by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the first (and eighth) President, "the principle on which the Indian National Congress is based is, that British rule should be permanent and abiding in India, and that, given this axiom, it is the duty of educated Indians to endeavour to the best of their power to help their rulers so to govern the country as to improve her material prosperity, and make the people of all classes and communities happy and prosperous and contented subjects of the British Empire." This statement is the strict and literal truth, and the public proceedings of the Congress bear it irrefragable witness.

It is not to be supposed that a thousand, more or less, of the most representative Indians will leave their homes and businesses for over a fortnight, and travel most of them hundreds of miles to Lucknow on a mere wild goose chase. These men have very definite objects in view, and their action proves that they have them very seriously at heart. It is not easy for us at home here to realise what the constancy of the Congress in the face of the official opposition, the weakness of some that ought to be friends, and the villification of the ignorant and domineering, has cost its members during the half generation of its existence. Every year there is some little demonstration against it on the eve of its reassembling. The other week, for example, a meeting of Lucknow Mahometans passed some adverse resolutions, which might, on internal evidence, have been drawn up by hostile British officials, so closely do they follow the ultra-official line of thought in their misrepresentation of Congress policy and its results. But a permanent answer to all such detraction and misleading criticism has been placed on record by Sir Richard Garth, late Chief Justice of Bengal. Some four years ago, Sir Richard replied to a pitiable attack by the late General Sir George Chesney, then M.P. for Oxford, in these terms:—

> I will tell you what they (the leaders of the Congress) have done. They have dared to think for themselves; and not only for themselves, but for the millions of poor ignorant people who compose our Indian Empire. They have been content to sacrifice their own interests and to brave the displeasure of Government, in order to lend a helping hand to those poor people.
>
> They have had the courage and patriotism to denounce abuses which have disgraced our Indian rule for years past, which have been condemned by public opinion in India and in England, and to which the Indian Government appear to cling with a tenacity which seems utterly inexplicable. They have dared to propose reforms which, despite the resistance of the Government, have been approved by Parliament, and to endeavour to stay that fearful amount of extravagance which has been going on in India for years past, and has been the means, as some of our best and wisest Councillors consider, of bringing our Eastern Empire to the verge of bankruptcy.
>
> This is what these good men have done to deserve the taunts and insults of the member for Oxford city, and the relentless persecution of the Government of India.

The deliberate and mature opinion of a distinguished Conservative who has held the highest judicial position in India may be trusted to carry not a little weight.

The President of the year is Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., a distinguished ex-official of the Indian Civil Service. From his official experience, Mr. Dutt will be able to discuss effectively the system of land revenue, the organisation and character of the police, and other matters of internal administration bearing intimately upon the prosperity and contentment of the people. He will also probably enforce the just claim of his countrymen to a more liberal share in the government of their own country. A level-headed ex-official like Mr. Dutt ought to prove a most useful interpreter and reconciler between the people and the Government. Lord Curzon has been recommending his officials to use "moral suasion" in the mangement of the plague operations. The prescription applies to other things besides the plague, moreover, it applies equally on his own side. It is for the Government to consider the situation very carefully under the "moral suasion" applied to them on the part of the Congress. There is nothing that our officials need more urgently than a true knowledge of what the people are thinking and feeling. There is no better source of knowledge than the discussions of the Congress, which will lay bare before Lord Curzon and his Government the minds of the leaders of the people. (December 21.)

The "Review of the Week."

The opening of the fifteenth Indian National Congress at Lucknow on Thursday reminds us of the existence of a body who were expected at one time to exercise a vast influence for good or evil, on Indian affairs, but who in reality have very little more power than an average debating society. The Chairman, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, was good enough to give the Indian Civil Service credit for good work; but he evidently thinks that the Congress could rule India much better than the Viceroy's Government, especially if the Executive Councils consisted largely of Natives. What Mr. Chunder Dutt overlooks is that the Congress only represents an insignificant section of the peoples of India, and that it has never yet shown the smallest capacity for grasping those difficult problems with which the Government of India have to deal. His shallow suggestions for reducing taxation, and giving votes to people who do not want them and would not know how to use them, contrast very poorly with the wise and statesmanlike speeches which Lord Curzon has been delivering throughout the country. (December 30.)

The "Daily Chronicle."

The Indian National Congress, which began its fifteenth session at Lucknow yesterday, appears to be of an exceptionally representative character this year. Of the thousand odd delegates who are assembled, four hundred are Mahometans. Seeing that the differences between the Hindu and Moslem, their religious animosities and racial feuds, give rise to some of the most difficult problems with which British administrators are called upon to deal in India, the fact that members of the two great communities can work together harmoniously for the propagation of common ideals of municipal and imperial government is a distinct sign of progress. There was little, if anything, in the opening speech of Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, the president, to which exception could be taken by the most vehement opponents of these Indian gatherings. The eulogy upon the Indian Civil Service is well deserved, for neither in ancient nor modern times would it be possible to point to a body of men who, under most trying conditions and subject to exceptional temptations, contrive to stand so well with the Native races they practically rule, and yet abate not one jot of their regard for the Imperial tie which binds Hindustan to Great Britain. That the National Congress, of which the first function is to criticise the Powers that govern India, should term the service the finest administrative body in the world, shows a readiness to give credit where credit is due, that will predispose Englishmen to give favourable hearing to the representations of these Indian delegates.

Opinions will, naturally, be divided as to the wisdom and necessity of the Sedition Laws, which Mr. Chunder Dutt says were uncalled for. On the whole, it may be said of them they do no particular harm, if they accomplish little good. We regret the adoption of the Calcutta Municipal Act—it was undeniably a retrograde step, tending to restrict the representative principle in the matter of communal administration. It must not, however, be forgotten that it was the indifference of the municipality in regard to measures of vital moment to the health and well-being of the city that almost compelled the Indian Executive to the decision which the president of the Congress deprecates. In other respects, Englishmen who desire the prosperity of their Eastern possession and the welfare of the Natives will endorse all that was said as to improving the condition of the rayat cultivators. It is the first duty of the Executive to attend to this, and the Viceroy's recent speeches have sufficiently shown that the matter is constantly before the Legislative Council. That the present landholders are over assessed is an undeniable fact. If the truth were generally known as to the number of small estates yearly abandoned because the rayats cannot pay the tax charged upon them, it would probably cause surprise even in this country, where Indian questions receive so little attention. On the other hand, revenue must be raised, and India is a poor country. Again, the treatment of the Natives in the Punjab is a standing discredit to our Government, and may become a source of danger to us hereafter. The compulsory seizure of camels and the forced impressment of the peasants when we need their services are severely trying the loyalty of an exceptionally loyal section of the Indian people, and their grievances call for early consideration. By recognising this fact, the success of the Congress would be more surely ensured than by any regard for academic assertions favouring the introduction of European methods in a highly conservative Eastern Land. (December 29.)

The "Irish Independent."

The Indian National Congress just opened at Lucknow is worthy of some attention. The species of political activity which finds more or less useful expression in gatherings like that alluded to impresses one as being Western rather than Oriental. The East is not usually disposed to learn anything from the West; but the educated classes of Hindustan have apparently become Anglicised to the extent of finding some relief for their feelings by assembling annually to talk to one another of their grievances. The present is the fifteenth occasion on which the virtues of this salve have been invoked. The organisers of these yearly meetings intended that the speeches of the delegates should guide the Government of India as to the trend of public opinion. The result has been disappointing. The rulers of India work on the assumption that the millions of the ruled do not know what is good for them. The delegates who claim to represent these are regarded, at best, by the Simla authorities as bores who should be transported to Hyde Park, Trafalgar Square, or similar enclosures reserved for those incurably afflicted with the silvern gift. . . . Considering the bitterness which the members of each of the two great sects of India feel towards those belonging to the other, it is noteworthy that the Congress includes four hundred Mahometans and six hundred Hindus. Were the delegates really representative, these figures would give Lord Curzon and his advisers plenty of food for reflection. They should be considered an indication that the people of India were uniting for some purpose. Such a union would contain the germs of decay, but it would be none the less a source of temporary apprehension. . . . But though the Hindus and Mahometans are as far apart as ever, it would seem that the well-educated of all creeds—who are, of course, a very small minority

—are ceasing to be the victims of fanatical prejudice; and though the minority is small, it is not insignificant; because intellect is a force the strength of which cannot be gauged by a mere comparison of numbers. English journalists are well pleased with the tone of the speeches delivered by the various delegates. Since the beginning of the proceedings not a treasonable word has been spoken, and everything has been dull, even to respectability. The laws against sedition, recently promulgated, have been denounced, but the denunciations were based on the alleged loyalty of the Indian subjects of the Queen-Empress. Deep waters flow silently, and the Oriental seldom allows himself the luxury of speaking what is in his mind. Perhaps nature has disqualified him for the task of unravelling his thoughts. He certainly knows how to conceal his desires when he foresees trouble from a frank declaration of them. The Indian Government would have far better reason to feel pleased if the delegates were to allow themselves to be betrayed into some semblance of candour. (December 30.)

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A MARKED CHANGE OF TONE.

A marked change of tone in relation to Indians is to be noted in the Natal newspapers. Before the war, as our readers know, Indians in South Africa were a butt for abuse, indignity, and disability. But their splendid courage in succouring the wounded on the field of battle has won praise even from their colonial fellow-subjects.

The *Natal Mercury* of October 30, for example, writes:—

"Although little has appeared in print about the devoted and faithful Indians who were brought with the Indian troops, and especially those who were engaged in the hospital camp, their courage and fidelity have been, we are told, of the utmost value, and conspicuously so at the Talana Hill battle. During the heaviest fighting, when bullets were scouring the air, and men were falling dead and wounded in terrible numbers, these stoical and stolid Asiatics went about their business with heroic indifference to the leaden rain. It is due to them very largely that so many wounded were not afterwards numbered among the killed. One man, we are told, when stooping to pick up a wounded officer from the ground on which he lay, was himself severely hit. Without a wince, and bracing himself to withstand the deadly faintness which ensues after a bad wound, he shouldered his burden and steadily pursued his course to safe quarters, and deposited it with the hospital staff before he gave himself a moment to consider his own suffering. When the time comes for recording the narrative of the war, the conduct of these Indian followers will not be passed without most appreciative mention."

The *Natal Advertiser* of October 28 says:—My apologies to you, Ramsammy Naidoo—I have often called you names not altogether complimentary, and, at the time, I think you deserved them; but we'll let bygones be bygones from now, for you are sons of the Empire after all, and

Tho' he speak from a swarthy cheek,
The friend of a friend is mine.

The offer made by the Indians of Durban to raise a coloured contingent for service at the front will be always remembered to their credit in days to come, and the readiness with which they have expressed their willingness to undertake any sort of work speak volumes for the heartiness with which the offer has been made. As they themselves say, though they know not the use of arms, there are other departments where they could be made useful at the present moment. Indeed, the magnificent manner in which the Indian bearers are proving their valour on the battlefield is testified to by Natalians who have seen them at work. It requires courage of no mean order to follow the line of skirmishes—or the mad rush of a charge, inspired not by the lust of battle, but by that spirit of duty which demands implicit obedience by non-combatants exposed to the same deadly hail as the fighting line, and yet who splendidly carry out their work of carrying off the wounded. An eye-witness says: "It is impossible to praise too highly the way the coolie bearers carry on their work; close to the line all the time, a wounded man is scarcely stricken before they have a stretcher under him and are taking him out of fire. This is the splendid type of fellow immortalised by Kipling in 'Gunga Din,' and the Indian Army has them in hundreds—and is proud of them, too."

INDIAN TROOPS AND THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

In an article in the current number of the *Nineteenth Century*, upon which we comment elsewhere, Sir Henry H. Howorth, M.P., K.C.I.E. (Tory member for South Salford) writes:—

I know of few more dramatic incidents in history than the one when, in answer to the threats and dangers which England had to face in Eastern Europe some years ago, Lord Beaconsfield startled us all and led captive the imagination of the Continent by sending to India for a contingent of Indian troops, and landing them in Cyprus. It was a plain truth which was then plainly and irrevocably indited. It meant that the fighting forces of this empire are not to be measured by the men whom we enlist in these islands, but that we have an inexhaustible supply of men beyond our seas whom we can summon if need be, and who are as loyal, as chivalrous, and as brave as our own sons in England. Why are none of these men in Africa at this moment? What sentimental or other reasons have prevented their being sent to fight against enemies no whit more civilised than themselves? Men who have fought with us and for us on many glorious battlefields! Men who are burning and thirsting to be employed now, and to prove once more their devotion to their Empress and their loyalty to this country!

Is it to be understood that the lesson pressed home by Lord Beaconsfield was a mere barren show? Are the French to employ Turcos and Zouaves against Russia and their other foes, and the Russians to employ recruits of all races in their irregular cavalry, and are we to have our hands tied behind us when we are fighting an enemy which is a whole hemisphere away? Are we to denude our islands at home of nearly all the flower of their fighting men because of some fantastic notion that in fighting Boers and other semi-civilised white races we are not to employ any of our resources? Is all this fastidiousness and reserve imposed upon the Government and upon its supporters because of some fear that half a dozen sentimental politicians on the other side will raise an outcry? Who cares for their outcries, and what justice have they in the mouths of men with whom the equality of the human race is an axiom?

Mr. Channing in the House of Commons no doubt asked a question, a foolish question, on the issue whether we proposed to employ our Native Indian troops in Africa; and it seems to me that the answer which should have been given to him was that the Government were determined, when they deemed it prudent and right, to employ all the resources of the Empire in its defence. Instead of this an answer was given by the Government which implied that in some way or other we did not propose to employ our Indian troops against other races.

If we are ever to employ them surely this is the very occasion. A semi-tropical country, a country where heavy cavalry are almost useless, where men mounted on small arabs and ponies are just what we need, whose horses are seasoned, or "salted," as the term is. Admirable horsemen, first-rate scouts, and for some purposes of light cavalry unapproachable perhaps, one would have thought that the very first thing to have done in a war against a whole nation on horseback would have been to transport fifteen or sixteen regiments of Sikhs and Guides or Bengal cavalry. Instead of doing that we sent out at great cost a certain number of regiments, many of them of heavy cavalry, actually including parts of the Household Brigade. We sent out horses which after a three weeks' journey require three weeks to recruit, and when recruited are too heavy to work over this very hilly land of rolling downs and kopjes.

Why again did not we commandeer as many horses as we needed from our own loyal farmers at the Cape, who would have been delighted to supply them, and which would have prevented them from being commandeered by the invading Boers? These horses would have been acclimatised and ready. No doubt for concerted cavalry action the horses need drilling as well as the men, but not for the tactics of irregular cavalry.

Why again were mules bought in all kinds of remote places, when any number of mules accustomed to their housings, and with their housings complete, could have been bought in India? If there was a reason for not employing Indian soldiers, there was surely no reason against employing Indian horses and mules.

Putting the cavalry aside, it seems to myself, and it may possibly seem to others, that if we had had three regiments of Ghurkhas in South Africa it would have been better than employing Guardsmen and Highlanders in plumes to storm kopjes and entrenchments. They are the very men for the work, and it is the very work they like best.

They are all "soldiers of the Queen" just as much as Tommy Atkins. They never flinch from work or duty, their courage never flags; why should they be left out in the cold because their skins are a little darker, and as if they were savages? They are not savages, even of the type of Mouravief's Cossacks, or of the Croats in the last-century wars, but disciplined and tractable soldiers. Of course the Boers would complain, as the Boers have complained of our using balloons and lyddite shells in our fighting, and as the champions of the Brussels Congress will possibly complain—that egregious Congress with its ineffable absurdities, which discussed quite seriously the most Christian and genteel ways of slaughtering and destroying our enemy, and of fighting a death struggle in silk gloves and pantaloons; but the Boers are out of court, and the Brussels Congress is like a dissolving cloud in the sun. No one dreams of starting a servile or a savage war in Africa. If such a war were started however it would, no doubt, mean the extermination of the Boers, not in the open field, but in their homes, for the Basuto and the Bechuana have many old scores to pay off.

That is not the issue at all. The issue is: Are we going to use our Indian troops against white men *at all* in the future—against white invaders from our North-Western frontier in India for instance? If so, where is the distinction? Are Russians more barbarous than Boers? The issue has been put by an Indian prince who offered us a contingent of his troops—namely, whether thoroughly disciplined troops under English officers, and integral parts of the British army, most of them educated men providing their own horses and outfit, armed with English weapons, and specially suited to the requirements of the hour, are to be rejected as parts of our fighting force because their complexion is as dark as Southern Europeans or as some of the Boers themselves.

If other nations cry out it is time they should do so, and learn once and for all that we mean business when we fight, and we never mean it more seriously than when we have had a rebuff; and that business means with us using any resources when we find it convenient to do so.

NOW READY.

CONGRESS GREEN BOOK.—No. III.

The Proposed Separation OF Judicial and Executive Duties in India.

MEMORIAL

FROM

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